

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



ROUND TABLE

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PEACE AS A WORLD RACE PROBLEM

A Radio Discussion by LOUIS ADAMIC
ERNEST COLWELL, HARLEY MACNAIR
and ROBERT REDFIELD



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Around the Round Table



LOUIS ADAMIC was born in the village of Blato, which was then part of Yugoslavia and is now in Austria. He was a student at the Gymnasium, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, from 1910 to 1913, and he was awarded an honorary Litt.D. from Temple University in 1941. He came to the United States in 1913 and became a naturalized citizen in 1918, serving with the United States Army during the first World War. He was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship for 1932-33, and he has received Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Foundation grants for special research and writing. He is the author of *Dynamite* (1931); *Laughing in the Jungle* (1932); *The Native's Return* (1934); *Grandsons* (1935); *Cradle of Life* (1936); *The House in Antigua* (1937); *My America* (1938); *From Many Lands* (1940); and *Two-Way Passage* (1941). He is a regular magazine contributor and the editor of *Common Ground*.



ERNEST C. COLWELL, vice-president and dean of the faculties of the University of Chicago, is also dean of the University's Divinity School. He received his Ph.B. degree at Emory University (Atlanta, Ga.), his B.D. at Candler School of Theology, and his Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago. He taught at Emory University before he came to the University of Chicago in 1930. He is a regular contributor to religious journals and the author of numerous books, among which are: *The Greek of the Fourth Gospel* (1931); *John Defends the Gospel* (1936); *The Study of the Bible* (1937); *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, Vol. I (1936); *Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse*, Vol. II (1939); and editor of *A Greek Papyrus Reader* (with E. J. Goodspeed) (1935) and *A Hellenistic Greek Reader* (with J. R. Mantey) (1939).



HARLEY F. MACNAIR, professor of Far Eastern history and institutions at the University of Chicago, received his Ph.B. degree at the University of Redlands, his A.M. at Columbia University, and his Ph.D. degree at the University of California. He was associated with St. John's University in Shanghai, China, from 1912 to 1932 and served as head of its department of history and government for a number of years. While in China, Professor MacNair acted in various editorial capacities on the *China Weekly Review*, the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, and the *Chinese Recorder*. He has been with the University of Chicago since 1928. Professor MacNair is the author of numerous books on the Far East, among which are: *The Chinese Abroad* (1922 and 1933); *China's International Relations and Other Essays* (1926); *Far Eastern International Relations* (in collaboration) (1928 and 1931); *Modern Far Eastern History* (1934); *The Real Conflict between China and Japan* (1938); *With the White Cross in China* (1939); and the editor of *Voices from Unoccupied China* (1944).



ROBERT REDFIELD, a member of the anthropology department of the University of Chicago, has been dean of the Division of Social Sciences of the University since 1934. Dean Redfield received his Ph.B., J.D., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago and has been associated with the University's anthropology department since 1927. He is a research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in charge of ethnological and sociological field work and a member of the Social Science Research Council. Since 1930 Dean Redfield has done extended research and study in Yucatan and Guatemala. He is the author of *Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village* (with Alfonso Villa) (1930); *Chan Kom: A Maya Village* (1934); and *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (1941).

SECOND PRINTING

PEACE AS A WORLD RACE PROBLEM



MR. COLWELL: A university which studies and teaches the social sciences is inevitably interested in the significance of racial relations in the making of a durable peace. This war and the events that led to it give an increased urgency to the serious consideration of the problems of race relations.

MR. REDFIELD: Race relations constitute one of the subjects that social scientists certainly ought to study. Some of the studies which I have made of group relations in Latin America suggest how different the phenomenon of race relations is. In Latin America there is really no color line; and, yet, it is a most important matter in our own country, as we all know.

MR. ADAMIC: It is generally known that certain racial concepts have been a great factor in the whole European crisis during the past decade or so. The Germans have raised themselves into a super-race. They have degraded the Jew, and they have used racial concepts to confuse and weaken the countries which they aim to conquer. I am quite sure that the same thing is true in Asia.

MR. MACNAIR: In the case of Asia, specifically in the Far East, the problem takes on a twofold aspect: It is partly that of Russia in Asia—a country which represents the white race—and it is partly that of colony—such as the relation, for instance, of the Philippine Islands with respect to the United States.

MR. COLWELL: At a recent lecture on this campus, Redfield, under the sponsorship of the Walgreen Foundation, you discussed peace and race relations in a fashion that caused a lot of interest locally.¹ Since you have already entered the public arena on this subject, I think that it is up to you to give us a definition of what we mean by "race."

MR. REDFIELD: It can be defined pretty simply. In this broadcast we are not speaking of race as the scientist does when he seeks to classify mankind into biological varieties; we are not here concerned with the biological fact of race. We are rather concerned with the ideas which people have as to racial groups. Therefore, for us today, a race is a group of people who feel that they belong together and know it—partly because of the skin color each of them has which distinguishes him from other people or because of some other physical feature like skin color.

MR. COLWELL: An example of this would be the Jewish people in the United States. Are the Italians a race in this sense in the United States?

MR. REDFIELD: Much less, I would say, than the American Negro, who provides a very good example of a race in this sense. The Negro constitutes a group of people who are thought to be biologically different and distinguished from others by their skin color. The American Negroes, on the other hand, have the same customs

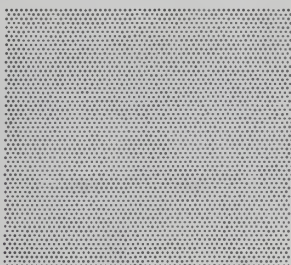
¹ See the chapter, "The Ethnological Problem," by Professor Redfield in George de Huszar (ed.), *New Perspectives on Peace* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press [in press]).

HOW IMPORTANT ARE COLORED MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES?

NEGROES
12,865,518



MEXICANS
3,500,000



EACH

REPRESENTS
1,000
PERSONS

AMERICAN
INDIANS
361,816



CHINESE
77,504



FILIPINOS
45,563



JAPANESE
126,947



HINDUS
2,405

...

KOREANS
1,711

Source: Carey McWilliams, *Brothers under the Skin* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943).

as the white Americans; they wear the same kind of clothes; they speak the same language; and they are citizens just like people of other colors. But when we discriminate against them, we do so because they look different.

MR. COLWELL: Our question, then, is not really what the meaning of race is but rather the significance of race—race relations, race or color discrimination, the drawing of a color line—in the area of international relations and its importance in our attempt to establish a significant and lasting peace. So we now turn to the question of what the significance of race is. What is the actual function of people's thinking about race in contemporary society?

MR. REDFIELD: The first thing to be noted is that the color line is a fairly recent thing in human history. I do not believe that it existed, to any important extent, at least, before about the sixteenth century. It was the northwest European peoples—the English and Germans in particular—who developed the idea and carried it to other parts of the world.

MR. MACNAIR: I can confirm that, on the basis of one book in particular, the story of Marco Polo. In that book you find no idea of racial superiority. I would add, however, that the question is not only recent in the sense that you have indicated, Redfield—namely, that it dates largely from the period of the sixteenth century—but also I would add that it is largely a local problem. That is, it is found peculiarly, as we have hinted at before, among the English-speaking peoples

MR. REDFIELD: And Germans.

MR. MACNAIR: and the German-speaking people also. As the English and the Germans went out from Europe to other parts of the world, they seemed to carry with them, for a variety of reasons, an idea of their superiority. In our own country it has become

far more noticeable, as I understand it, than in any other part of the Americas.

MR. COLWELL: I would suggest that we look at some other areas in the world. What is the situation in Russia?

MR. ADAMIC: Russia, I am sorry to say, is the *only* great power which seems to have an intelligent and sympathetic attitude toward the minority and backward peoples. She also has a continually active interest in their problems. Within her borders there are some one hundred and fifty different races and tribes—racial and national groups—and she has adopted a policy of liquidating their backwardness.

MR. COLWELL: Redfield, you have traveled extensively in Latin America. What is the situation with regard to race prejudice or color discrimination?

MR. REDFIELD: I would say that it is a minor factor in the problem of how peoples are to get along together. There is much class difference and class prejudice there, and people are discriminated against down there in terms of their education and their occupation, but the color line is not drawn in Latin America. The Latin Americans who come up here are thus well aware of the color line when they see it in our country.

MR. COLWELL: What would you say are the areas where the color line is drawn most sharply and in which the tension, accordingly, is the strongest?

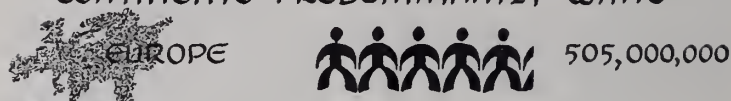
MR. MACNAIR: Do you mean with reference to eastern Asia or to the whole world?

MR. COLWELL: The whole world.

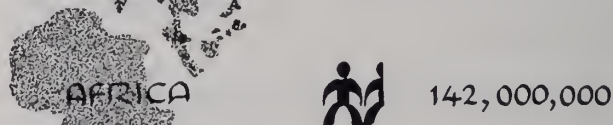
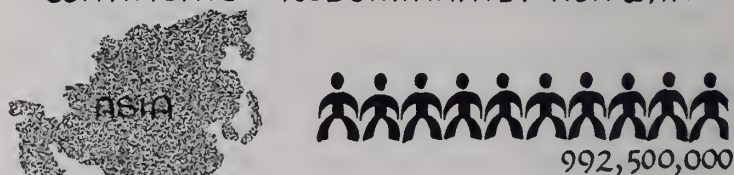
MR. MACNAIR: As I see it, from our point of view specifically in

WORLD POPULATIONS, 1930

CONTINENTS PREDOMINANTLY WHITE



CONTINENTS PREDOMINANTLY NON-WHITE



EACH COMPLETE FIGURE
REPRESENTS 100,000,000 PERSONS

Source: McWilliams, *op. cit.*

the United States and in relation to the case of the whole of eastern Asia and including Middle Asia as well—that is, India—there is a color line very distinctly drawn in India; in the case of Japan's atti-

tude toward Russia, it is clearly drawn in Japan's desire to get control of eastern Asia, at least as far as Lake Baikal. It is also present in the use of a tremendous amount of propaganda beamed from Tokyo with respect to the Philippine Islands.

MR. COLWELL: Before we get into the question of the use of race propaganda, would you give us some concrete illustration of the existence of color-line prejudice in India, for example?

MR. MACNAIR: When I was in India some years ago, I was amazed. I thought that if I had not heard this remark, if I had merely read it in the newspapers or a book, I could not have believed it. A young lower-middle-class English girl on a train referred to the Hindus as "filthy beasts." It was not only the two words that were used which seemed sufficient unto the day but also the tone with which the two words were brought out, "filthy beasts!"

MR. COLWELL: I have noticed thus far in our discussion today that we have seemed to stress two aspects—that the drawing of the color line is a recent habit of *parts* of the human race. It is recent, and it is partial. This would suggest that the significance is not a human significance.

MR. REDFIELD: It might be added also that it is an exportable commodity almost. It spreads with the influence of those people who most developed it. Thus, for example, in Brazil, I am told that there is now, around certain cities which are most influenced by North America, an extension of the color line in communities that did not before experience it.

MR. COLWELL: In other words, the drawing of the color line occurred originally in German- and English-speaking peoples in Western Europe, but it went with them to their colonies, and it is now moving from some of those former colonies to other areas of the

world. But, on the other hand, it is not everywhere present, either in time or in place in human experience.

This brings us closer to another aspect of our subject. This problem today, we think, is an especially urgent one.

MR. ADAMIC: I do not think that we have any too much time in which to straighten out our attitudes toward the colored peoples. It may be only a few years, or, at the most, a decade, before we are going to be up against the climax of this racial difficulty that faces us. The unfavorably situated peoples all over the world—white and colored, but perhaps especially colored—are stirring and heaving toward self-improvement, toward industrialization and higher productivity, toward uniting with one another in common causes of self-realization and development.

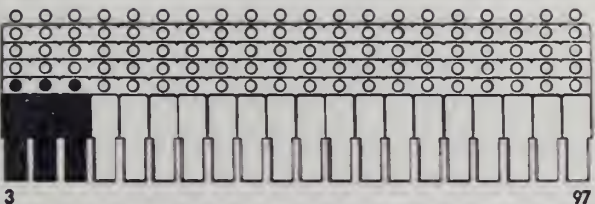
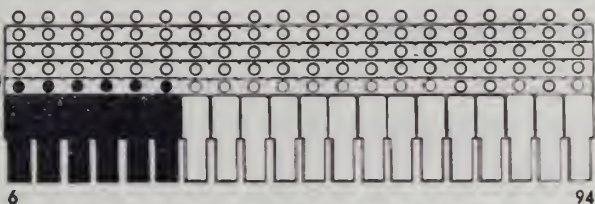
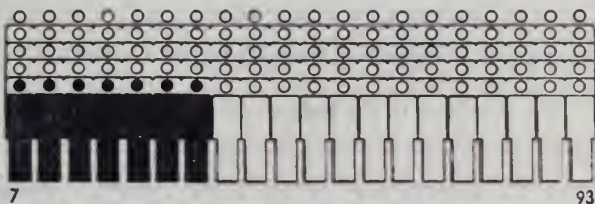
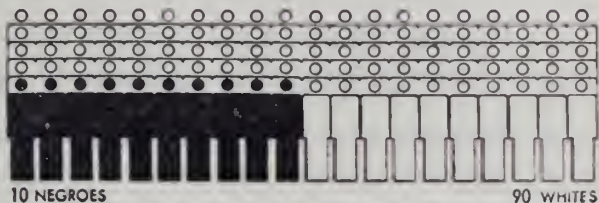
I am afraid that some of our jingoes will presently again begin to talk of the "yellow peril," while it seems to me that the chief danger actually exists within the white people—within ourselves.

MR. COLWELL: Let us turn to MacNair and ask him to document for us some of the specific reasons for this urgency. Why is the problem more acute now than it has been in the past?

MR. MACNAIR: As a student of history, I am always interested in perceiving irony. It seems to me that one of the best ironies of history is illustrated in the fact that a great deal of the color feeling that we have referred to is to be found among the peoples who themselves have been among the great inventors—the inventors who have brought the world closer together than it has ever been in the past. In other words, we have world-wide knowledge now, based on almost instantaneous communication. We have a world audience for whatever takes place in times of peace and in times of war. No time takes place between an incident, so called, and the knowledge of that incident in all parts of the world. It seems to me that it is an

RATIO OF NEGROES AND WHITES, 1940

OUT OF EVERY 100



Source: Public Affairs Committee, *The Negro and the War* ("Public Affairs Pamphlets," No. 71 [New York, 1942]).

extremely interesting fact that these groups of whites who have made it possible for the news to spread so rapidly should be among the ones who make it so dangerous for the news to spread.

MR. COLWELL: There is a social implication to this or a political implication to this increased communication in regard to race.

MR. REDFIELD: You are probably referring to another invention—the invention of political propaganda or political warfare. We have seen, in the case of the Nazis (and Adamic can tell us more than I could possibly say on this subject), how race prejudice can be used as a weapon as truly as the robot bomb.

MR. ADAMIC: In the Balkans, for instance, after the German conquest of Yugoslavia, Himmler and Hitler and their quislings went to work and exploited the local racial concepts, pushing one group against another—particularly Croats against Serbs—with very horrible results.

MR. COLWELL: MacNair can probably tell us something of the use of this propaganda on the line of color in the activities of the Japanese.

MR. MACNAIR: It has been most noticeable in the case of the Japanese. This war has been almost a heaven-sent institution for a people who are looking out for an opportunity to get rid of the white man in the Orient. In other words, the Japanese, as I indicated a moment ago, are beaming their political warfare at these areas in which the white man has been conspicuous since the sixteenth century—specifically with respect to the Philippine Islands, equally with respect to India, also with respect to other parts of the Asiatic continent, such as Thailand, and also in Malaysia. In all these areas there is the perfect exemplification of a race of color dominating,

and getting ready to dominate, on the basis of using what the whites have done against the whites in these areas.

MR. REDFIELD: The exportation of race prejudice, therefore, is an exportation of which our enemy Japan is making good use.

It seems to me that there is another aspect which might be pointed out. This race prejudice can be used in two ways as a political weapon. You can argue that your own people are a biological unity as the Nazis have done, and exclude all other people, feeling that you are pure and superior, because you are biologically one people. At the same time you can play upon the racial differences in your enemy lands and break your enemies up by magnifying those differences.

MR. MACNAIR: As, for example, in the case of the Japanese attempts during the past several years (even before Pearl Harbor, and as far as they have been able since), to appeal to the Negro element in the United States.

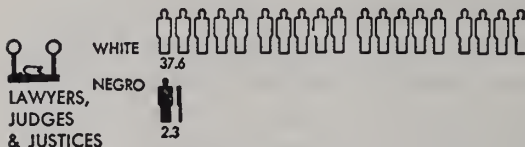
MR. COLWELL: There is not only the color line as a means of political propaganda imposed upon or called to the attention of potential enemies or potential friends, but it is also possible that the people themselves—the colored peoples of the world—may see something in this symbol of color and may use it in the future.

MR. ADAMIC: They see in that something that is quite useful to them, or, at least, they feel that it is useful. I have been noticing lately that the Negro press in America is using columns written by writers who are Chinese or who are from India. I have also noticed that the Nisei, Japanese-Americans, in their papers have suddenly begun to devote a great deal of sympathetic discussion to the Negro problem.

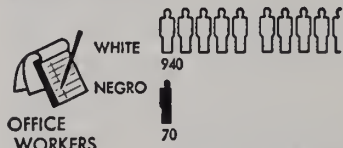
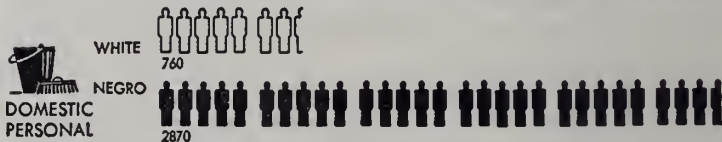
MR. REDFIELD: The point being, I take it, that if these peoples

OCCUPATIONS OF WHITES AND NEGROES

(GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WORKERS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER)



Each symbol represents 2 out of every 100,000 of each color



Each symbol represents 100 out of every 10,000 of each color

LATEST AVAILABLE FIGURES, 1930

Source: Public Affairs Committee, *op. cit.*

of different skin color from white are getting interested in one another more than they ever have been interested in one another before, it is because of the discrimination and hard treatment to which they have been subjected. We drive them into an interest in one another.

MR. ADAMIC: We are doing exactly that.

MR. MACNAIR: I was interested, Adamic, a moment ago in your "regretful" allusion to Russia as the country which had apparently solved this problem. Do you think that it is really regretful? It seems to me that it is worth while to have this one great power in which the problem has been worked out and has been solved.

MR. ADAMIC: My regret is that Russia is the *only* power. I would like to see America and Great Britain come along and adopt a policy as intelligent and sympathetic toward the minority and backward peoples as that which Russia has adopted. In fact, it seems to me that Russia has thrown us a very positive challenge in this regard. Our behavior, I think, toward colored groups, particularly, has been inexcusable; it is utterly indefensible. The fact that Russia has developed an intelligent policy challenges us to do likewise. We will have to do something similar—something as good or even better.

MR. COLWELL: Will this fact not provide Russia with a propaganda weapon in Asia?

MR. MACNAIR: Almost undoubtedly. Russia has a marvelous opportunity inasmuch as it has solved, or at least to a very considerable degree has solved, this problem of handling minorities—whether racial minorities or religious minorities or other types of cultural minorities. Being an Asiatic power as well as a European power covering the whole of northern Asia, Russia is in a strategic posi-

THE NEGRO MOVES NORTH



1860



1940

Source: Public Affairs Committee, *op. cit.*

tion to appeal to the Japanese, to the Chinese, and even to India itself, if and when the time offers.

MR. COLWELL: I have always been accustomed to think of myself as a member of a majority group, because I am a white American, but I gather from something I heard in Mr. Redfield's lecture, to which I have already alluded, that I am actually in a minority, even on this continent.

MR. REDFIELD: I would say that what you have said is true, because, taking account of the great number of Indians and mixed-

blood peoples in Latin America, it is probably safe to say that white people—that is, people of pure or almost pure white ancestry—are a minority for the entire New World. If you look at the world as a whole, of course, there can be no question that the whites become a minority. Most of the people of the world are dark-skinned in color.

MR. MACNAIR: Especially when one considers the four hundred million Chinese, the eighteen or twenty million Koreans, and the almost four hundred million Hindus.

MR. COLWELL: So the problem becomes increasingly urgent. It becomes increasingly urgent also on the international scene, because of certain great shifts that have taken place in regard to industrial power, for example. Not only is there this shift in the consciousness of colored peoples' belonging to larger groups but there is also an actual shift in industrial power in the strength of nations which are predominantly composed of colored people.

MR. REDFIELD: You might say that inventions and the spread of color line occurred in those peoples that developed the Industrial Revolution and carried economic and military power around the world, establishing imperialism in colonies. But that period in world history has probably ended, and, now, if there are to be further shifts in economic and military power, they must shift from these white peoples to the other peoples who are darker-skinned. We, therefore, shall have a very important shift in economic and military power.

MR. MACNAIR: Upon one thing, Redfield, I would hesitate to agree with you. I do not say that you are wrong, but I think that it is extremely debatable whether the imperialistic idea, as mixed up with the Industrial Revolution, has completely come to an end.

Take the case, for example, of Japan. Although the Japanese were not one of the peoples who did very much, except quite recently, with the inventing aspects of this revolution, they have nevertheless profited by it.

MR. REDFIELD: Quite so. It was not my point that imperialism had ended but merely that centralization of power in the North-western peoples is at an end.

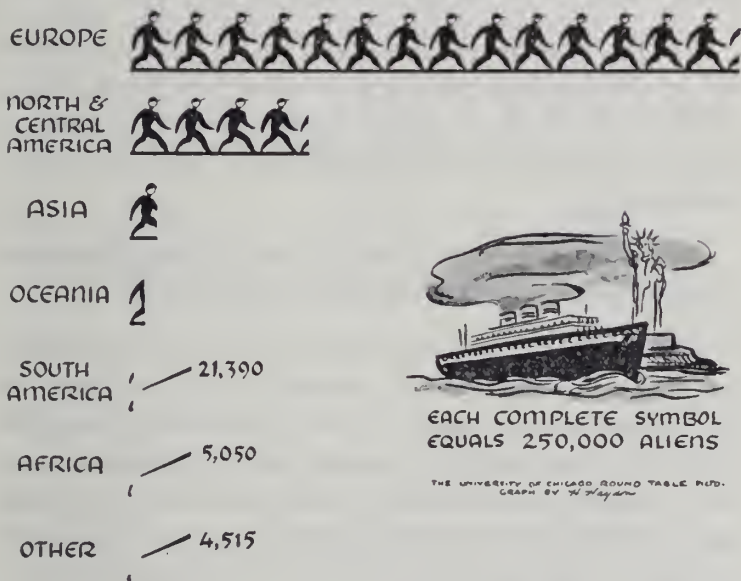
MR. COLWELL: So the industrialization of Japan which was largely completed before the war began has demonstrated to us what effect drawing a color line could have in the future efforts to obtain power. I am informed in the University that the applications from Chinese students for study in this country are largely concentrated in the fields of engineering and technology. The implication of that is that China also may become an industrial power in the world.

Let us turn from the issue of the urgency which we have seen to rest upon improved communications, the increased effectiveness and the use of political propaganda as a weapon for a nation or a people, the efficacy of color as a rallying symbol for the more darkly colored peoples of the world, and, finally, the shift in industrial power—all of which lend urgency to the situation.

We should turn our attention now to the area in which we in America are aware of the dilemma in which we talk equalitarianism and practice discrimination.

MR. REDFIELD: That is perhaps the heart of the matter. We have become great leaders in a great war—a war which is a conflict between two sets of ideals. We have in this country a set of ideals which include democracy and the equal treatment of all men. We belie that ideal by practices of racial prejudice in this country. In

ALIENS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940



Source: 1940 Census

doing that, we make a glaring exhibition of our failure to make our practices match our ideals.

You meet this almost every day. The Vice-President of the United States has referred to this war as a "people's revolution," but we know that the darker-skinned people of the British Empire are largely passive in the struggle. In our own country the President will tell us that the oppression of the weak is the doctrine of our enemies, and so it is that. But it is also our practice in so far as we discriminate against the dark-skinned peoples in our own country.

MR. COLWELL: This attitude of ours, or these practices of ours, which put us in this dilemma weaken us nationally and keep us from attaining the full strength of our leadership in international affairs.

What are some of the signs that there is hope in the situation? I mean, that is, are we wedded forever to this situation?

MR. REDFIELD: No, of course we are not. We can always hope, if not to abolish entirely racial discrimination, to reduce it greatly. Events do occur during a war which suggest the path that must be taken if we are going to reduce this source of danger to our national well-being.

MR. COLWELL: I wonder if MacNair would recognize the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act as one such hopeful sign?

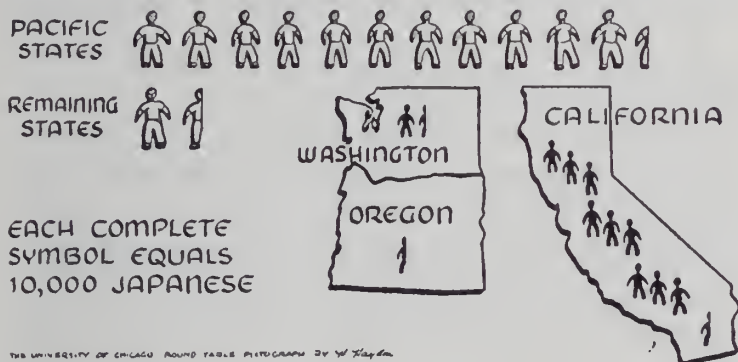
MR. MACNAIR: I want to point out that it seems to me that in spite of the dark picture we are painting here on a very dark subject, nevertheless, there are occasional beams of light that have developed in this period of war—namely, that outstanding attempt to undo an ancient wrong, at least a wrong lasting some fifty to sixty years, with respect to Chinese exclusion. Americans can certainly congratulate themselves upon at least a partial solution of the problem with respect to China.

MR. REDFIELD: But why not go further? Why should citizenship be denied to anyone on account of his color or racial origin?

MR. ADAMIC: We should really underscore the fact that color should not bar anyone from citizenship. People like the Filipinos, who are our Allies, are barred from citizenship. It seems ridiculous to me.

MR. MACNAIR: Adamic referred, a moment ago, to our semi-kinsmen politically—namely, the Filipinos—who are not yet made citizens. I would like to go a step further and suggest that there is no time like the present for attempting to solve the problem of the Japanese—namely, there would be no way in which we could carry on political warfare against the Japanese so successfully and undo

JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940



Source: 1940 Census

their political warfare against us to the degree in which it would be done if Congress should now see fit to apply the same general rules to the Japanese which they have applied to the Chinese.

MR. REDFIELD: Indeed, every step which we take to reduce racial discrimination in our own country weakens the propaganda of our enemies and strengthens our own national character. It is the same with the Negro and Mexican. The improvement in the Negro's condition, small as it is, in occupation and training in the Army is an event which makes it possible for us to look forward to the day when we can stand up in the world's community and realize that we are practicing the ideals for which we stand.

MR. COLWELL: What about the treatment of colored people in the armed forces of our own country?

MR. ADAMIC: The developments in the Army are very fortunate. In the last war the United States Army trained only a few hundred Negro officers in separate Negro camps. In this war, close to five thousand Negro officers have been trained in unsegregated camps with white officers on the same level. That, I think, is a great advance.

MR. COLWELL: There are other areas in the treatment of colored people in our armed forces which are not quite so satisfactory.

MR. ADAMIC: Yes, we have a long way to go in the Army and Navy—perhaps especially in the Navy.

MR. REDFIELD: The protection given by the federal government to Mexican immigrants who came up here as workers during the war has had a very favorable response in Latin-American countries. There, too, there is a great deal more that can be accomplished.

MR. MACNAIR: One additional point that might be mentioned is the addition of Japanese and Negroes to the Civil Affairs Training School.

MR. COLWELL: We have seen that the color-line problem is a recent problem—not one of long standing in human history. It is a social problem which has become an international problem.

The problem is urgent now, we think, because of the improvement in communication, the shift in industrial power, and the use of color-line propaganda by great powers in our modern world. It is, therefore, a matter of intense urgency for the American people to think constructively and to strive diligently for further improvements in the matter of race relations and color discrimination within the United States. Only as we solve the problem locally—that is, within our own country—can these United States of America make their maximum contribution in international relations throughout the world.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company. The supplementary information in this transcript has been developed by staff research and is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE speakers.



What Do *You* Think?

1. How do you define the term "race"? In what sense has Mr. Redfield used race in this discussion? How has racism been used as a weapon of warfare? Why is race becoming an important element in international affairs?
2. Have we ever had any so-called "race wars" in history? Do you see any elements in the present war which might develop into a struggle of races? Do you believe that many of our present policies are laying the foundations for a future race war? What policies do you believe should be followed in order to avoid world race conflicts in the future? What is the importance of the color line for the future peace of the world?
3. Why is there an urgency today in the matter of the solution of racial problems? Who should take the responsibility in the efforts to arrive at a solution? How has Russia been able to solve her racial and minority group problems? Do you agree that Russia offers a challenge to the United States in this matter?
4. Do you think that war is the time in which to make changes in the status of minority groups? What would be the results domestically? How would such advances serve to improve our status abroad—especially in the Far East? Do you agree with MacNair that evidences of definite accomplishments in improving race relations in this country would be the best type of political propaganda that we could use?
5. Why do minority and race problems form such an important part of the challenge to democracy? Will America be able to fill in the gap between what is preached and what is practiced? What accomplishments have been made during the war?
6. What is the relation between public opinion and reform legislation? What steps is American opinion ready to take? What steps is your community ready to take? What steps has it taken?
7. Do you agree with Colwell that it is only as we are able to solve the problems of democracy locally that we can make our maximum contribution to international relations? How can the United States best solve the dilemma of professing to fight this war for democracy and of permitting, at the same time, undemocratic practices at home with regard to racial and minority groups?



More on This Topic

"Asia for the Japanese," *Fortune*, April, 1944. Describes the Japanese propaganda which is permeating Asia and the "Nipponese carpetbaggers" who overrun the conquered lands.

BENEDICT, RUTH, and WELTFISH, GENE, *The Races of Mankind*. "Public Affairs Pamphlets," No. 85. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1943.

BROWN, EARL, *Why Race Riots?* "Public Affairs Pamphlets," No. 87. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1944.

BUCK, PEARL, "Appeal to California," *Asia*, January, 1944. Says that the attitude of those on the West Coast will influence the attitude of the whole country in the future relations with the Far East.

———, "Our Last Chance in China," *Common Sense*, August, 1944. Argues that we have already laid solid foundations for future wars in Asia as a result of our ignorance not only of Asia but of ourselves.

COLIN, D. L., "How the South Feels," *Reader's Digest*, June, 1944.

DUBOIS, W. E. B., "Prospects of a World without Race Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1944.

EMBREE, E. R., "Negro in the North," *American Mercury*, June, 1944. Says that most people are beginning to realize that the "heyday" of the mastery of the earth by the white man of northern Europe and North America is gone.

JACKSON, R. E., "A Negro Looks at the South," *New Republic*, March 6, 1944. Discusses the Negro's status in the South and outlines what the Negro wants in America.

JOHNSON, ALVIN, "Race in the World To Come," *Yale Review*, winter, 1944. Says that race threatens great "storms in the future" unless civilized man awakes from the delusion that there are, by nature, master races and slave races.

KLINEBERG, OTTO, *Race Differences*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1935. Standard summary of data concerning native abilities, etc., of various races.

- LYELLS, RUBY B. STUTTS, "The New Emancipation," *Vital Speeches* March 15, 1944.
- MCWILLIAMS, CAREY, *Brothers under the Skin*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943.
- , "Racism on the West Coast," *New Republic*, May 29, 1944.
- MILNER, L. B., "Jim Crow in the Army," *New Republic*, March 13, 1944.
Says that the war attitude of the Negro reflects the dilemma of his race—a deep patriotism but resentment over not being a "full citizen."
- MYRDAL, GUNNAR, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1944.
- "Negro Rights," *Life*, April 24, 1944. *Argues that the Negro will have his proper rights when the white South's fear is "divided into rational parts."*
- NEW, I., "For White Trade Only," *Asia*, January, 1944. *Says that we must act now to make sure that there will never be a race war.*
- SHRIDHARANI, KRISHNALAL, "'Native,' Not a Word but an Attitude," *Asia*, November, 1943.
- SILVERBERG, W. V., "Race Prejudice—Social Immaturity," *Current History*, September, 1943. *A discussion of the race problem by a psychologist.*
- SNOW, EDGAR, "Journey among Indians," *Asia*, August, 1944. *Reports his impressions from a recent trip to India and his conversations with Indian leaders.*
- VANCE, R. B., "Tragic Dilemma: The Negro and the American Dream," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, July, 1944.
- WALES, H. G. Q., "Face and Freedom in Asia," *Nation*, November 6, 1943.



The People Say

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE audience on "Needed: 20,000,000 Postwar Jobs," broadcast August 13, 1944.

*

Constructive Exchange of Ideas

Your discussion on the postwar employment problem was one of the most constructive and helpful exchanges of ideas that I have ever heard. I only wish that everyone in the United States had heard it. Thank you for your stimulating program.—*A listener from Minneapolis, Minnesota.*

*

Plan Now

The problem for us is not to worry how soon it all will end but to worry now and to plan now for what we will do if the war is over suddenly. We must start our planning at once and not wait. I hope that learned people everywhere will come forward at this time and instruct and advise of what must be done, so that we can force adequate action to be taken.—*A listener from New Haven, Connecticut.*

*

Hit the Nail on the Head

In your discussion of reconversion, you fellows hit the nail on the head by your simple views and logical thinking. The most significant pronouncement was to give the boys, after the

shooting ceases, a furlough with pay. While on their furlough, they should immediately look for a job. I believe that your suggestion is the most worthy one that I have heard so far. I hope that you succeed in making this a reality by getting Congress to follow it.—*A listener from Bedford, Ohio.*

*

A Serviceman's Indorsement

As a serviceman I can heartily indorse many of the statements that were made in today's discussion. The problem of reemployment for servicemen is their first thought for the postwar period. These discussions are very helpful to us, because they allow us to receive the vital information which competent students, concerned with these problems, can give us.—*A listener from Yorktown, Virginia.*

*

Foreign Trade Important Too

One field that was unmentioned in today's broadcast which has an important bearing upon postwar employment is foreign trade. It seems to me that expansion of international commerce, based upon mutual interchange of goods and services, should be chart-

ed now. As an important pump-primer, we have much usable equipment, such as railroad rolling stock, which could be sent abroad as soon as the firing stops, thus clearing the way here for replacement without junking our present supplies. For the next decade, at least, we shall be the world's largest producer with very few nations in a position to make immediate reciprocity for our goods either in funds or in goods. So it is vital that a sound arrangement be devised for deferred payment while debtor nations get back on their feet.—*A listener from Sterling, Illinois.*

★

"Lost Our Vision"?

I have just listened to your discussion on unemployment after the war. I am not a politician or an economist, but I have lived long enough to have acquired some common sense. In your discussion you spoke of intelligent planning now to avoid the nightmare of unemployment. But when you admit that there must be six to twelve million idle men walking the streets of our cities during the reconversion period, something, it seems to me, is radically wrong in your reasoning, or

else you lack faith in your government to have the capacity to accomplish the kind of peacetime job that, we all admit, it is doing now in winning the war. Millions of unemployed is certainly a sad commentary on our intelligence and our initiative. Long ago, a wise man said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." When we admit that America must experience millions of unemployed, I wonder if we have not lost our vision.—*A listener from Norfolk, Virginia.*

★

Heartily Agree

Your program was coming over the radio in our barracks just now. I heard the suggestion that servicemen be given a furlough before they are discharged during which time they could make the readjustment to civilian life and find a job. I believe that most servicemen would heartily agree with this, and I am, therefore, wondering about the possibilities of this being done and if this suggestion will even reach those who have charge of the demobilization of the armies of the United States.—*A listener from Lowry Field, Colorado.*



for
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Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Augusta, Me.	WRDO	1400	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Cumberland, Md.	WBTO	1450	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Manchester, N.H.	WFEA	1370	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660			

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	North Platte, Neb.	KODY	1240
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Saginaw, Mich.	WSAM	1230
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Prescott, Ariz.	KYCA	1490
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
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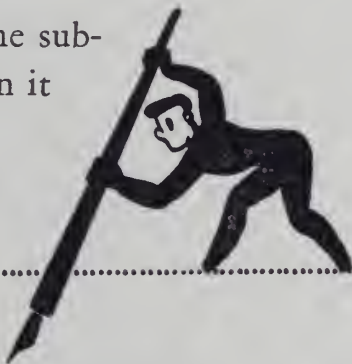
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